/88 cont./
621 from epú, "handle, holder." It is very possible that in sporadic
622 cases, for example when afraid of being attacked, when a stranger approaches, when setting off on a long journey, etc., there may have come forth or may come forth a leader, one less corwardly, more intelligent, etc., but, the danger passed, the external circumstance, they return to their own way of life, in which there are no juridical ties beyond the strictly family ones.

592 192. It is true that the active, friendly hospitable, etc.,
621 Indian with initiative is likeable and that there customarily
622 gather about him several other families, either in individual houses or even in large communal houses, but even then divided up into hearths or fireplaces with all of the culinary utensils, fishing and hunting equipment, etc., the property of each family. Thus not even in this case does the agglutinator-individual have authority over the others, but only a greater or lesser degree of persuasion for adjusting disputes and arguments.

628 From settlement to settlement the same phenomenon
571 occurs; the only tie is the bond of relationship and of friendship, a tie which weakens with distance until in the far distance it becomes distrust and suspicion, never gratuitous aggression.

571 193. Mutual fear does not usually interfere much in the
578 group, since in such a case they rather seek peace /two plates appear here/ /89/ by putting land between them. And these Indians can surely say better even than Castillians: "Broad is my land!" In this same sense unsociable Indians or those who are fond of solitude and of avoiding womanly scoldings
[123] isolate themselves or go off to a convenient distance. This was the reason that they continually put foreward to me when I invited them to gather together more: "Separated we do not fight and occasional visits are more pleasant and welcome."

127 It is for this reason that a careful census of this whole
● 162 region carried out in the years 1940 and 1942, which included

/89 cont./

the basins of the Caroní and the Paragua, did not turn up any native settlement of more than 100 individuals, with 99 per cent being of only two or three houses with less than 30 individuals.

194. We believe that this state was really that of the majority of the native tribes upon the arrival of the Spanish discoverers and colonizers. And so Columbus says when speaking of Cuba that "we found innumerable peoples and small villages /poblaciones/, but without any government at all." With an author of the history of Cuba, Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, we believe that here as well as there: "No authentic proof can serve us as a basis to support the fact that (Cuba) was divided into extensive provinces, ruled by chiefs or little kings. The maps that have been drawn showing such provinces or districts under caciques are the product of the fantasy of their authors alone."

And the fact is that, aside from the danger of war or when avoiding other evils, in extensive territories with sparse population and easy means of livelihood within the bounds of frugality, grouping in order to provide themselves with greater well-being and more ease takes place slowly by an almost imperceptible process of integration. This is the same phenomenon which we are groping for in the field of international affairs: groupings in war and separation in time of peace, without as yet arriving, after so many centuries of history, at the international society which must come.

195. For those who are up-to-date on the matters which are usually dealt with in ethnology when discoursing upon the organization of primitive peoples, I should add that among the Pemón Indians there is not the remotest trace of totemism; they practice equally both endogamy and exogamy; and neither does there exist any trace of matriarchy, despite the fact that the Caribe Indians in general have been classified as belonging to that cultural cycle and as solely exogamous. The couvade, which it has been wished to interpret as proof of matriarchy, through the little which we have said about it when talking about magic, will be seen to be /90/ lacking in probatory value since it affects equally both progenitors.

114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group.[98]

## Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

| 103 162 551 621 622 Name of place | Head man (to⁹-esa⁹) | Number of men |
|---|---|---|
| KAMARATA: | | |
| Uruyén. | Reyes. | 4 |
| Santa Marta, or Tuaibá. | Simón Bolívar. | 4 |
| Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi. | Marcelino Torres. | 2 |
| Aleuiba. | Juan José. | 1 |
| | | Total in Kamarata - 11 |
| AKANAMUINTA: | | |
| Asakapán, or Abasakapán. | Ramón Yepes. | 4 |
| Atapá-motá. | Alejo Calcaño. | 6 |
| Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá. | Pedro José. | 2 |
| | | Total in Akanamuinta-12 |
| AKANAN VALLEY: | | |
| Ibanamarú. | (Mateo Agostini. | 6 |
| | (Lorenzo.[99] | 3 |
| Guaiparú. | Tomás Ribas. | 4 |
| Maibá-motə, or Maibá-pan | José Rangel.[99] | 4 |
| Peipá. | Gavilán. | 1 |
| Ipupaipún. | Rolando. | 4 |
| Ayukupái. | Ricardo Pérez. | 3 |
| Uaikimba⁹. | Pablo Abati. | 1 |
| Urá-kupái. | Palacio. | 2 |

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

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|---|---|---|
| Benné. | Lorenzo.[99] | 3 |
| Amidán. | José Rangel.[99] | 4 |
| Abaraparú. | (Not recorded.) | 2 |
| | | Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) - 37 |

KARAO VALLEY:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Itoikupái. | Celestino. | 2 |
| Oyu-uopatói. | José Dolores. | 3 |
| Puleukepá. | Simoncito. | 2 |
| Atabar. | Antonio Montesdeoca. | 4 |
| | | Total in Karao Valley - 11 |

OTHERS:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái. | Venancio Pacheco. | 2 |
| On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín. | Daniel. | 3 |
| On the trail to Luepa - Araubái. | Faustino Rivas | 2 |
| | | Total others - 7 |
| | | Total men in central group - 78 |

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The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be several hundred. [167] There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. [119] For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957) gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101] [101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

## Vital Statistics

I was able to obtain reasonably reliable information on the families of 19 women. They had had 79 children, an average of about 4 per woman, and of these 46 were living and 33 dead. Most of these women were still bearing children, so that the average number of children per woman must be higher. Only 3 women for whom reliable information was available could be considered as definitely past child-bearing — a significant fact in itself as showing how few women survive this period. These 3 had had 21 children, or an average of 7 apiece, which is probably somewhat above the tribal average as these women lived longer than most do. The average number of children per woman who reaches maturity may be estimated at about 5, or possibly a little more.

Over 40% of the children born to women now living are already dead. Practically all of them died before reaching maturity. As many of the surviving children are still young infants, it is certain that many of them will die before they are mature. Of the 21 children born to the 3 women past child-bearing, 14 are dead, 67%. From these figures it is reasonable to estimate that 50% of the children born into this tribe die before reaching maturity.

Of the 46 living children involved in this tabulation, 25 are males and 21 females. Definite information as to sex could be obtained for only 20 of the 33 dead children and these included 9 males and 11 females. These figures do not demonstrate any probable departure from a sex ratio of approximately 1:1 or any correlation of infant mortality with sex.

In all 23 females were personally recorded in detail and about 25 more were observed or were recorded from information given by husbands or other close relatives. These include all ages from birth to senility and it is significant that only two women were observed who were definitely mature sexually and who had not had any children. One of these, although sexually mature, was very young and not considered marriageable. The other was having her first pregnancy. It can thus be concluded that essentially 100% of the females who reach maturity are fertile and do have children. There is, on the other hand, a considerable group of young men who are sexually mature and are as old as women who have children but who are not married and disclaim having any children, an inevitable result in a polygamous society and one of which the significance will be discussed later.

No Kamarakoto knows his own age or the ages of his children and it is impossible to estimate these more closely than within 10 to 20%. There are, however, extremely few members of the tribe who can be called old. Certainly not more than 15% of the mature women are past child-bearing, probably not over 10%, and it can be roughly estimated that probably not more than 20 people in the tribe are over 45 years of age. We encountered and heard of none whose age could reasonably be estimated at more than about 60. The tribe thus

165 has very high infant and child mortality and a short life span for those who survive this period. As a general impression which could not be checked by any actual figures, the mortality at intermediate ages, say between 15 and 35, is probably relatively low.

16 With a birth rate probably about 5 or somewhat more per mature woman and a pre-maturity mortality of about 50%, the tribe should be holding its own or increasing slowly. There are no independent data to show whether this is true, but there is some reason to believe that it is true in general, over long periods, but that the tribe has decreased within the past generation or so. The desertion of the desirable upper part of Kamarata has been mentioned and the whole region is thinly populated, even by Indian standards. Without any alteration in mode of life, it could surely support several times as many Indians as are living in it, probably at least ten times as many. Several older informants agreed that the population was much more dense when they were young. They explain this by the occurrence of epidemics, and there is no reason to doubt that this is the real cause. The present birth rate and mortality figures refer to an exceptionally favorable period. There have been periodic epidemics and crop failures that have abruptly lowered the population, which then builds up again slowly during periods like the present.[102] The Indians vigorously deny that there is any significant emigration, and there is no evidence in favor of this. Among the many details that I obtained regarding size of families and the whereabouts of their members, there were a few cases of individuals leaving the central group and going to the Caroní or elsewhere in this region to live, but only one of an individual leaving the tribe altogether. On the other hand there are several Arekunas who came from elsewhere (mostly from the Gran Sabana) and joined the tribe — even one Akawai, now dead, did so in recent times. This immigration must at least balance the small emigration.

●162 177 Venezuelans (aside from expeditions) have several times visited the tribe and at least two have lived there for considerable periods. One had been with the tribe for about three years at the time of our visit and had married into it. In view of the demonstrated great fertility of the women in native wedlock, it is interesting that neither he nor another Venezuelan, now dead, who married [44] a Kamarakoto woman, are said to have had any children. I have no reason to favor any one of the several possible explanations, but it is important that as far as known the Kamarakotos still do not have any admixture of non-Carib blood, although they do have some from other Carib tribes.

## Names

551 177 As shown in the list of household head-men (to'-esa', "amo de la casa") given above, most of the Kamarakotos of the central group have Spanish names.

102 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions,
684 among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[582] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

589 595 162 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.

## Division of Labor

511 461 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost universally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the [556] [185] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any accumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances warrant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a [854] [404] baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

| Men | Women |
|---|---|
| The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings. | Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some. |
| Clearing and planting of conucos. | Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house. |
| All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning. | ---------- |

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Fig. 91 — Kamarakoto Old Woman and Girl.

No. 31 (old woman) had eight children, of whom two survive. She is one of the few women recorded who are past child-bearing or who have grandchildren. She is the mother of Antonio Montesdeoca. The girl, No. 32, is the daughter of Antonio, granddaughter of No. 31,

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
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[p. 284]

## SOMATIC CHARACTERS

### General Appearance

142 [114] Most travelers with wide acquaintance among South American Indians agree that the Arekumas in particular or the Roroimá mass of Caribs in general are physically the most attractive (by usual White standards) of all these Indians. I agree with this judgment and add that the Kamarakotos fully share the handsomeness of the other Arekumas. In two cases it proved that residents of Kamarata whom I hesitated at first sight to class as Kamarakotos, because they were less attractive, did indeed belong to other tribes. [162]

The appearance of typical Kamarakotos is adequately shown by the accompanying photographs (Figs. 84-92). Koch-Grünberg's many photographs of Taurepánes (as well as the few taken by me, among them Figs. 96-98) could almost equally well be given as representative of Kamarakoto physiognomy, for I doubt whether anyone could tell from appearance alone to which of these two tribes an Arekuma belonged.

[126] We had no means of measuring or recording color and a subjective impression is not very useful. The skin is, of course, brown, with little or no definitely red cast, and when not darkened by the sun it is rather pale. Many nominally white people are nearly as dark as these Indians or, when tanned, even darker. The average lower-class Venezuelan, even in regions where there is little Negro blood, is as dark as a Kamarakoto or darker.

The hair is invariably black and is almost invariably straight although one man, otherwise ordinary in appearance, has definitely wavy hair and several other individuals have a slight wave. There is not, even in these cases, any suggestion of kinky hair or of strong curliness. Of 24 native men recorded in detail, seven had sparse mustaches and two of these also had a few hairs on the chin. On most men face hair is completely absent and body hair slight. No one appeared to have shaved or plucked the face. [302]

## Comparisons

141 It is manifest that the Kamarakotos show very marked sex differences of the expected sort, that is, that the men average noticeably larger than the women in almost every dimension. This is confirmed by the following table:

### Comparison of Male and Female Adult Kamarakotos

| | a. Male mean | b. Female mean | a - b |
|---|---|---|---|
| Head length | 186.9 | 177.1 | 9.8 |
| Head breadth | 154.2 | 150.9 | 3.3 |
| Head index | 82.2 | 84.7 | -2.5 |
| Stature | 160.0 | 146.9 | 13.1 |
| Sitting height | 84.8 | 77.1 | 7.7 |
| Stature less sitting height | 75.2 | 69.8 | 5.4 |
| Span | 169.0 | 152.0 | 17.0 |
| Weight | 123.7 | 103.6 | 20.1 |

These differences are all statistically significant. The only one not obviously so is that of the head indices and for these means $d/\sigma$ is 2.9, which indicates almost certain significance. It is somewhat unexpected to find that in this tribe there is a definite secondary sex distinction in head proportions and that women are on the average distinctly more brachycephalic than men.

The same sort of difference appears among the Taurepáne and Farabee also noted it among the Makuchis and some other British Guiana tribes, including some Arawaks. The difference has not been shown conclusively to be significant in these cases, but it is so widespread and consistent that it doubtless will prove to be statistically significant.

162 142 [101] Living within the Kamarakoto tribe as members of it there are two adult Indians (also several children, not specifically discussed here) who are not of Kamarakoto descent. Their own statement is that they are Arekunas from Luepa (i.e. from anywhere in the northern Gran Sabana). I do not know the Arekunas of that region well, although I have seen some twenty or thirty of them, but these two individuals have a distinctly non-Arekuna look (Fig. 95) and it is at least possible that their ancestry was partly or wholly non-Arekuna, although doubtless Carib. In the measurements here used, they compare as follows with the comparable pure Kamarakoto samples. They are, of course, in all cases excluded from the group data for Kamarakotos.

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Fig. 95 — Arekuna (?) Adult Male.
No. 25, known as "Simón Bolivar," a member of the Kamarakoto tribe in a social sense but not of Kamarakoto descent or physical character, tribal ancestry doubtful.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
295b

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Kamarakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

581 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
● 162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.